

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-11 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY VALLETTA UNN

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SUBJECT: SWEDISH VIEWS ON SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COPPERATION

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REF: (A) STOCKHOLM A-30 (NOTAL), (B) ROME 1560, (C) PARIS 4339

1. AN ARTICLE THIS WEEK IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC DAILY ARBETET ON THE THEME OF SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COOPERATION IN WESTERN EUROPE IS AN INTERESTING CONTRIBUTION TO THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST DIALOGUE ON THIS ISSUE UNDERWAY SINCE THE HELSINGOR MEETING. ARBETET IS CONSIDERED THE SWEDISH NEWSPAPER CLOSEST TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND IS FREQUENTLY USED BY PRIME MINISTER PALME WHEN HE WISHES TO MAKE PRONOUNCEMENTS ON PARTY IDEOLOGY.

2. THE ARBETET EDITORIAL IS INTERESTING ON TWO COUNTS. FIRST, IT QUESTIONS THE SINCERITY OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS' PROCLAIMED WILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY THE RULES OF THE DEMOCRATIC GAME IF THE SOCIALISTS AGREE TO COOPERATE WITH THEM. AS ARBETET POINTS OUT, THE QUESTION IS WHETHER "CERTAIN COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE CHANGED ENOUGH TO BE ACCEPTED BY SOCIALISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS PARTNERS IN A DURABLE COLLABORATION." NOTING THAT THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY HAS NOW PROFESSED ITS SUPPORT FOR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, THE EDITORIAL ADDS: "HOWEVER, IT IS NOT EASILY DONE FOR AN OLD STALINIST AND MOSCOW FAITHFUL PARTY TO PRESENT ITSELF AS A DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ANY TYPE."

3. SECONDLY, THE EDITORIAL ALLUDES TO A POINT MADE EXPLICITLY BY EMBASSY ROME IN ITS ANALYSIS OF THE THEME OF SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COOPERATION, I.E. HOW THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY PROJECTED AN EXAGGERATED IMAGE OF OPEN DEFIANCE OF MOSCOW WHICH THE FACTS DO NOT JUSTIFY. ARBETET PUTS IT AS FOLLOWS: "PARTY LEADER BERLINGUER IS A MASTER IN COMBINING LIBERAL AND DOGMATIC STATEMENTS. IN ONE OF HIS LATEST INTERVIEWS, HE ASSERTS THAT HIS PARTY IS NOT CONNECTED TO ANY OTHER PARTY OR TO ANY OTHER STATE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME HE IS SUPPORTING THE PERSISTENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR DETENTE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THIS STATEMENT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BETTER FORMULATED BY AN EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST LEADER."

4. I FIND THE ARBETET COMMENTS REFRESHINGLY FREE OF THE KIND OF FOGGY WISHFULNESS THAT TRUSTINGLY ACCEPTS THE FRENCH AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADERS' PROFESSIONS OF ADHERENCE TO PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICES. AS WE HAVE NOTED, SOME SOCIALIST LEADERS, IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES AS ELSEWHERE, HAVE SEIZED UPON THE COMMUNIST PROTESTATIONS OF FAITH IN DEMOCRATIC VALUES AS REMOVING THE LAST BARRIERS TO SOCIALIST COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENTS. IT IS, HOWEVER, JUST POSSIBLE THAT THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC RANK AND FILE, TESTED BY THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE WORKING MASSES AND THE

NO-HOLDS-BARRED COMPETITION WITH THE COMMUNISTS, ARE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE WORTH OF TACTICAL ALLIANCES WITH THE COMMUNISTS, AND THAT THEIR CONCERNS HAVE FILTERED UP TO THE LEADERSHIP.

5. I DO NOT CLAIM THAT THIS REASSERTION OF REALISM ON THE PART OF THE LEADING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORGAN IN SWEDEN IS DUE TO OUR DEMARCHES TO SWEDISH LEADERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE HELSINGOR MEETING. YET, I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR EFFORTS, AND THOSE OF MY COLLEAGUES IN OTHER KEY EUROPEAN CAPITALS, TO PERSUADE OUR HOST COUNTRY LEADERS TO BEWARE OF COMMUNISTS BEARING GIFTS, HAS AT LEAST ENCOURAGED THEM TO EXAMINE SKEPTICALLY COMMUNIST CLAIMS OF CONVERSION TO DEMOCRACY, AND TO REFER THEMSELVES TO THE HISTORICAL RECORD: SUPERFICIAL CHANGES IN THE STYLE OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISM HAVE NEVER WATERED DOWN THE ESSENCE OF COMMUNISM, NAMELY, ITS UNALTERABLE OPPOSITION TO DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM. AS WE HAVE OFTEN POINTED OUT TO PRIME MINISTER PALME AND OTHER SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, WHILE IT IS INTELLECTUALLY INTRIGUING TO SPECULATE ABOUT THE COMMUNIST BEHAVIOR IN A POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT, THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT, ONCE IN POWER, THEY MIGHT ULTIMATELY DESTROY THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS THEY HAVE AVOWED TO PRESERVE, MAKES SUCH EXPERIMENTATION DANGEROUS INDEED. AS MARCHAIS HAS PUT IT: COMMUNISM "IS NOT JUST A COLLECTION OF DOGMAS." INDEED, IT IS A METHODOLOGY FOR GETTING THE KEEPING POWER. I SHARE FULLY THE VIEW OF EMBASSY BELGRADE THAT NO COMMUNIST PARTY WILL MAKE THE BASIC CONCEPTUAL CHANGE REQUIRED TO SHARE POWER ON A PERMANENT BASIS. WHATEVER MIGHT BE THE PATHOLOGICAL TRAITS OF THE COMMUNIST PSYCHE, THE SUICIDAL INSTINCT IS NOT AMONG THEM. EMBASSY POUCHING FULL TEXT OF ARBETET ARTICLE TO DEPARTMENT.
STRAUSZ HUPE

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